

F B I

Date: 7/16/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157- [REDACTED]) (C)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

REC-7

4
5
10BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES
FORT BRAGG, N. C.
RM - BPPBlack Panther Party

105-165706-8-219

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 6/19/70.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of LHM in captioned matter, suitable for dissemination. Copies of LHM have been locally disseminated to military intelligence and Secret Service agencies.

The information from Captain HORAN was contained in MIG report furnished Charlotte by the Bureau on 5/26/70.

105-165706-8-196 gen

All information in LHM was handled by SA [REDACTED]

ENCLOSURE

REC-7
EX-117

105-165706-8-111

② - Bureau (RM) (Encs. 11)

2 - Charlotte

(1 - 157-7618) (1 - 157-6111)

RHC: dmm

4 JUL 18 1970

54 AUG 10 1970

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

RACIAL [REDACTED]

58 1210

105-165706-8-219

AGENCY: [REDACTED], SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, IDIU, CD-5100

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

BY:

Classified by

Exempt from

Date

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-

In view of the fact that the four subjects in this matter are active duty soldiers assigned to Fort Bragg, North Carolina and under the jurisdiction of the military authorities who are aware of their activities and of the information in LHM, no further investigation is being undertaken by the Charlotte Office. Their activities will be followed with military authorities and in the event any pertinent information is received, such information will be furnished the Bureau in appropriate communication.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 16, 1970

X see p. 5 for
listing.

[REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES
FORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On May 26, 1970, Captain ROBERT J. HORAN, Security Officer, United States Army, John F. Kennedy Center for Military Assistance, advised information was received from

[REDACTED]

Captain HORAN stated the information was that on May 6, 1970, [REDACTED] four unidentified Negro soldiers who stated that they were members of the Black Panther Party and did not identify themselves other than that they were from New York and Connecticut. The four alleged Panthers [REDACTED] had received information [REDACTED]

a result of comments made during racial seminars held at Fort Bragg.

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NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY. IT
AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED
OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

105-165706-8-243

ENCLOSURE

RE: JAMES A. GALLOWAY; VERNON C. HARMON;
PHILLIP MARSHALL HILL; HAROLD COLBY SIMS
BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED] The meeting reportedly was to induce black soldiers from the 18th Airborne Corps and Special Forces to revolt against the army. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The Panthers also indicated that unidentified arms were being brought into the Fort Bragg, Fayetteville, Spring Lake area. The alleged Panthers also indicated that a large rally was being planned for the Fayetteville City Park during the first part of June, 1970, and Panthers from all over the nation were planning to attend. The Panthers indicated that their goal was the overthrow of Fort Bragg with force and the overthrow of the United States Government.

[REDACTED] furnished the following information:

During January, 1970, the Department of the Army directed Inter-racial Seminars which commenced in the 6th Special Forces and other units at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. The seminars were held at various places on the reservation with the approval and knowledge of unit commanders. [REDACTED]

He believes that the primary purpose of the seminars was to evoke the grievances in order that solutions could be derived, thereby eliminating or minimizing the racial tension in the United States Army.

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 105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 3

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X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Sheriff's Office raided the trailer at McNeal's Trailer Park, Spring Lake, North Carolina, and arrested [REDACTED] as a material witness and as a deserter from the United States Army. Earlier on May 29, 1970, subject [REDACTED] was arrested by military authorities as a deserter.

On June 30, 1970 [REDACTED] 111th Military Intelligence Group, Fayetteville, North Carolina advised that [REDACTED] had been transferred to Vietnam, reporting date being July 22, 1970, at Oakland, California.

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105-165706-8-243 enclosure page 6

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

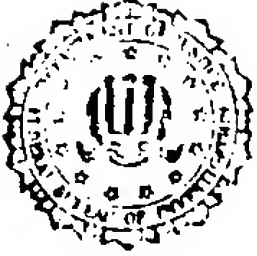
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

July 16, 1970

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

[REDACTED]
BLACK PANTHER PARTY ACTIVITIES
PORT BRAGG, NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference Memorandum made at Charlotte, North
Carolina, dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

Contact with source in above referred to communication
has been insufficient to develop information from which
a determination of his reliability can be made; however,
source was in a position to obtain and report reliable
information as set forth in above referred to communication.

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

NR003 CE PLAIN

240PM URGENT 7-28-70 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706 SUB 8 AND CHICAGO

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 2P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RACIAL MATTERS.

ON JULY TWENTY-EIGHT INSTANT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A GREEN CHEVROLET STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND AN OLDSMOBILE STATION WAGON BEARING ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] ARRIVED AT WINSTON SALEM, N. C., BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS, ONE SIX ZERO TWO EAST FOURTEENTH ST., AT APPROXIMATELY NINE THIRTY TO TEN A.M. EIGHT OR NINE NEGROES, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, WERE IN EACH CAR. NONE WERE IDENTIFIED AS BEING LOCAL INDIVIDUALS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CHICAGO IDENTIFY ABOVE ILLINOIS LICENSES DETERMINING OWNERS CONNECTIONS WITH BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND CONTACT APPROPRIATE SOURCES TO DETERMINE REASON ANY INDIVIDUALS IN YOUR AREA WOULD TRAVEL TO WINSTON SALEM, N. C., REGARDING BLACK PANTHER PARTY

MATTERS.

END PAGE ONE

EX 105 REC 37

105-165706-8-242

2 JUL 30 1970

CE 157-6171

PAGE TWO

CHARLOTTE CONTACTING APPROPRIATE SOURCES.

END

WJM FBI WA AND HOLD

CC 12-17-71
1000 723 012

F B I

Date: 7/27/70

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
RACIAL MATTERS

Handwritten initials: RL

Re New Haven airtel to Bureau dated 7/17/70.

Referenced airtel sets forth information from [REDACTED] (NH T-12) that on 7/9/70 [REDACTED], BPP, New Haven, was in contact with [REDACTED] re the NCCF, Winston-Salem, N. C. [REDACTED] indicated he had talked with [REDACTED] (phonetic) and reached an understanding.

It is noted that [REDACTED] has reported that [REDACTED] was in Winston-Salem, N. C., on 7/9/70 and 7/10/70 accompanied by unidentified individuals. These individuals were not known to be members of the BPP at Winston-Salem, N. C.; and the name [REDACTED] has not been reported as being a member at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LEADS:

EX 105

REC-87

105-165706-8-241

NEW HAVEN AND SAN FRANCISCO

Review information available from informants and advise the identity of the [REDACTED] mentioned by [REDACTED] as reported by [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - New Haven (RM)
 - (2 - [REDACTED])
 - (1 - [REDACTED])
- 2 - San Francisco (RM) (157-1204)
- 3 - Charlotte
 - (2 - 157-6171) (BPP)
 - (1 - [REDACTED])

12 JUL 28 1970

RACIAL INT. SEC.

RETHG:rep

(10)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

CHARLOTTEAT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will maintain contact with appropriate sources to determine if, in fact, a [REDACTED] (phonetic) is active in the Winston-Salem, N. C., area.

- 2 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR002 CE PLAIN

JUL 28 1970

649PM NITEL 7-26-70 JMC

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

FROM CHARLOTTE (157-7710)

Mr. [redacted]
Mr. [redacted]
Mr. Walters
Mr. [redacted]
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

PROPOSED BLACK PANTHER PARTY RALLY, HIGH POINT, N. C., FIVE
P. M., JULY TWENTYSIX, SEVENTY, BPP- RM.

RALLY TO ORGANIZE HIGH POINT CHAPTER OF BPP SCHEDULED FOR
TODAY WAS CANCELLED DUE TO PENDING TRIAL OF ALLEGED BPP MEMBER,

NEXT.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

RE CHARLOTTE TELETYPE TO BUREAU JULY TWENTYFOUR, LAST.

LHM FOLLOWS.

END AND ACK PLS

JTJ FBI WASH DC

ST-106

REC-84

105-165706-8-240

JUL 28 1970

53 JUL 4 1970

COPY SENT

IDIU

F B I

Date: 7/7/70

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
 NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM
 WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION MONTHLY SUMMARY
 RM

Re Charlotte airtel to the Director dated 6/5/70.

PART I

The following information was obtained or confirmed
 by [REDACTED] and observation by
 Special Agents of the FBI during June, 1970.

Organization and Status

National Committee to Combat Fascism
 1602 East 14th St.
 Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Members

<u>Assigned</u>	<u>In Jail</u>	<u>Temporarily Assigned Elsewhere</u>	<u>Total Active Charlotte Division</u>
12	0	0	12*

2-Bureau (RM)
 2-San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 2-Charlotte

THG:cvs
 (6)

EX 106

18 JUL 9 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____

M

Per _____

55 JUL 30 1970

Special Agent in Charge

F B I

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

*This includes KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS from the west coast and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA from New Haven who are temporarily assigned at Winston-Salem, N. C.

LeadersCentral Staff

LARRY DONELL LITTLE
Captain of Defense

WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE
Lieutenant in Charge of BPP Newspaper
Distribution

NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.
Field Lieutenant

TERESA THOMAS, aka Slack Thomas
Lieutenant in Charge of Finance

DAVID BOWMAN
In Charge of Headquarters and appears to be
permanent Officer of the Day

JULIUS CORNELL
In Charge of Panthers in Training

BPP Pads, Charlotte Division

1602 East 14th St.
Winston-Salem, North Carolina
(Panther headquarters, however, members reside
there 24 hours per day).

940 Cleveland Ave.
(Apartment of WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE and visiting
Panthers reside with him).

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Public Appearances of BPP
Members Within the Charlotte Division

There were no public appearances of BPP members noted within the Charlotte Division during the month of June, 1970.

PART II

The following is a summary of BPP activities within the Charlotte Division during June, 1970:

The group at Winston-Salem, N. C., continues to regularly receive the BPP Newspaper which they sell on the street at Winston-Salem, N. C. Numerous articles have appeared in the BPP Newspaper referring to various situations at Winston-Salem and are critical of the local city administration, PD, etc.

The split within the group, which occurred during the last of May, has taken away some of the leadership and financial capacity of the group. According to one source, financial problems are so great that the full-time Panthers started eating only one meal per day. This has caused some members to become dissatisfied over the lack of food, clothing and rigorous discipline and drop-out.

One night a week the group has "political education classes," wherein non-members are invited. The breakfast program has been discontinued, however, Panthers are attempting to get children in the area of headquarters to play at the headquarters which they call a liberation school.

3

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F B I

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CE 157-6171

KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS and DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA, both on assignment to Winston-Salem from other areas, have not emerged to a strong position of leadership and their exact functions have not been determined. HARRIS has reportedly been transferred to New York or New Jersey, but is still in Winston-Salem.

MIRANDA has been in Winston-Salem part of the time, however, was observed by Special Agents at New Haven, Conn., attending the trial of [REDACTED]

The group at Winston-Salem chartered a bus taking 29 people to the BPP rally at the Lincoln Memorial on 6/19/70.

[REDACTED]

JUNE HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff, was reportedly in Winston-Salem on 6/6/70, exact purpose unknown.

According to sources she was in all likelihood going to drum up attendance at the June 19 rally at Washington, D. C.

4

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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 105-165706-8-238

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F B I

Date: 7/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
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(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - FINANCES
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, and others, dated 6/17/70.

The following information set forth is concerning BPP activities in North Carolina and their financial situation. There is only one branch, which is located at Winston-Salem, N. C., and operates under the name Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism, Winston-Salem, North Carolina. Headquarters are at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C.

A. Sources of Income

There are no membership dues or assessments. Sources report that some contributions are made by individuals outside the BPP; however, their identities and the amounts have not been established. A portion of their income comes from the sale of newspapers. It is noted that [REDACTED] (SF T-22) reported on 6/10/70 that 2,000 papers were to be sent to Winston-Salem the following week and after that maybe 2,500 - 3,000 papers per week. [REDACTED] has reported that each member is required to sell 50 papers per week at 25 cents per paper and thereafter turn the money (\$12.50) back in to headquarters, with WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE being in charge of newspaper sales. On 6/4/70, a parcel [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (157-1485) (RM)
2 - Charlotte
THG:rep

REC-39 105-165706-237

JUL 18 1970

(5)

51 JUL 30 1970
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

MRAD:INT. SEC.

F B I

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Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]
containing pamphlets on the Ideology of the Black Panther party by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Part I. The number or amount for which they are to be sold has not been determined. During June there were no fund-raising activities as such or public events where collections were obtained, and there are no committees which have been formed to raise funds.

On 6/4/70, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] reported that KATHY THOMAS, later identified as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS, was given \$600 expense money and left on 6/3/70 with [REDACTED] a Marine Corps deserter, for Winston-Salem, N. C. Method of travel was not given, however, did occur as KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS did arrive in Winston-Salem, N. C., and [REDACTED] was arrested at Winston-Salem, N. C., by BuAgents.

In summary, the group's income for June would be approximately \$500 per week or \$2,000 from newspaper sales plus \$600 brought in by KATHRYN YVONNE HARRIS.

B. Foreign Sources

None reported.

C. Expenses

[REDACTED]
One-half of their newspaper income would have been remitted to BPP Headquarters, or \$1,000.
[REDACTED]

- 2 -

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] As this is a weekly expense, it would appear that approximately \$100 per month is spent on freight on the newspapers.

[REDACTED]

There are no salaries or known skimming by members; however, [REDACTED] full-time members of the BPP group at Winston-Salem are considered to be full-time workers and are supported by the group. They receive no salary as such but their clothes, food, and other expenses are paid by the party.

In connection with travel to Washington, D. C., 6/19/70, for the Black Panther Party rally at the Lincoln Memorial, [REDACTED]

- 3 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

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(Priority)

CE 157-6171

D. Operations

TERESA THOMAS is considered to be the Lieutenant of Finance having taken over from NELSON LEE MALLOY, JR.; and they are believed to be the individuals responsible for the handling of funds and records, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] During June, no information was received as to the means or method of transfer of funds; and it is noted that, according to sources, expenditures at Winston-Salem, N. C., are by cash. According to sources, records are most likely kept at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, N. C., but this cannot be positively ascertained.

E. MiscellaneousIncome

Newspaper sales (approximation)	\$2,000.00
From Newark, New Jersey	600.00
Total	<u>\$2,600.00</u>

Expenses

Transportation of Newspapers (approximation)	\$ 100.00
--	-----------

- 4 -

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Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date:

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Via _____ (Priority)

CE 157-6171

Expenses (Continued)

Shipment of Pamphlets	\$ 10.25
-----------------------	----------

Electricity	15.00
-------------	-------

Cost of newspapers remitted to San Francisco	1,000.00
---	----------

Total	<u>\$1,654.73</u>
-------	-------------------

Not included in these tabulations is money spent for the upkeep of the members due to the fact that amounts are unknown. In addition, DOUGLAS PAUL MIRANDA traveled from Winston-Salem, N. C., to New Haven, Connecticut, and returned to Winston-Salem, N. C. The method or cost of this are not known.

F. Action

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Special Agent in Charge

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Date:

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CE 157-6171

[REDACTED]

Continued efforts will be made on SAC authority to interview minor figures and members of the group at Winston-Salem, N. C.

- 6 -

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CHARLOTTE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN FRANCISCO	DATE 7/13/70	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/12/70 - 6/26/70
TITLE OF CASE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY dh
		CHARACTER OF CASE RM; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION	

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA [REDACTED] 5/28/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is being classified "~~Confidential~~" to protect sources whose identification or compromise could affect the national defense of the United States adversely.

EX-100

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			
								PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED *nm/y* SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

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 2 - San Francisco (157-2861) (RM)
 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)

105-165706-8-236

JUL 15 1970

REC-39

EX-115

REC-64

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
Agency	AGENCY: ACSI - OSI OSI SEC SER		
Request Recd.	DEPT ISD: OSI OSI		
Date Fwd.	DATE FORW: JUL 16 1970		
How Fwd.	HOW FORW: RC		
By	BY: <i>nm/y</i>		

RACIAL INT. SECT.

INT. SEC.

IRS, STDU

RM 20 1970 detached by
Klan Unit

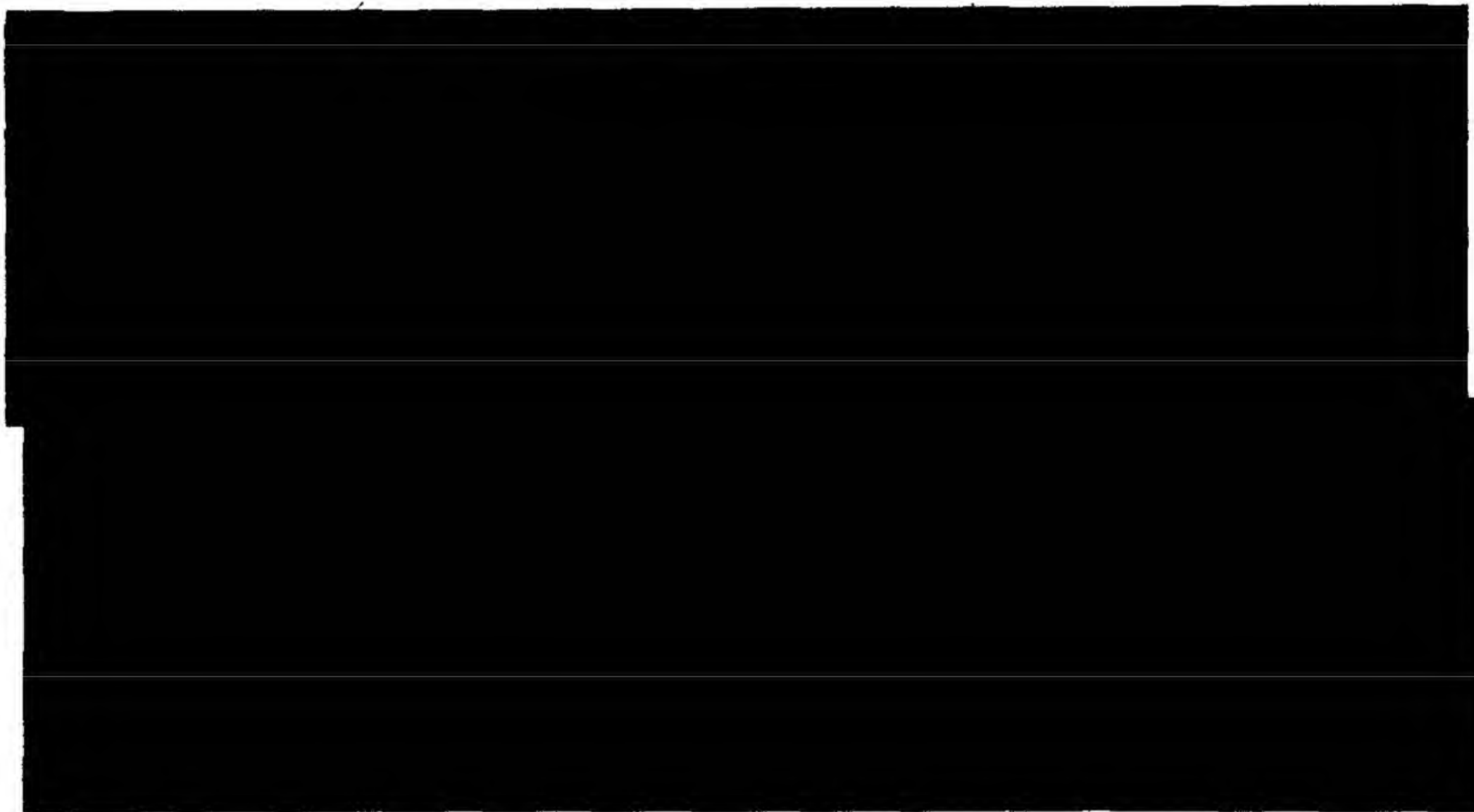
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CE 157-6171

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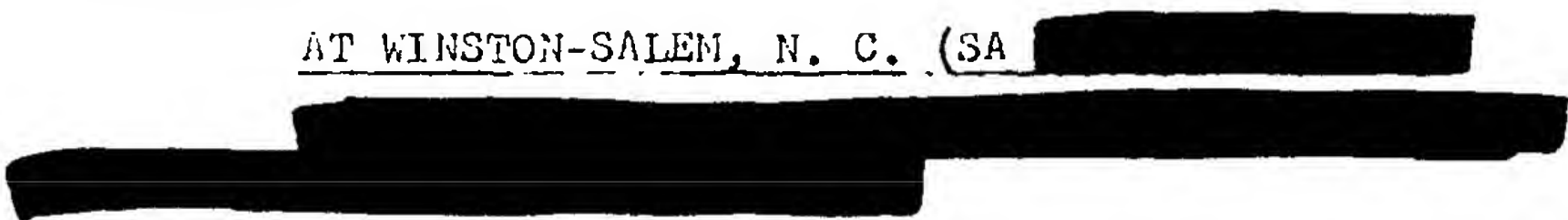


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LEADS:

CHARLOTTE:

AT WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. (SA



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AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Office:

CHARLOTTE

Date:

July 13, 1970

Field Office File #:

157-6171

Bureau File #:

105-165706 Sub 8

Title:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Character:

RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIOUS
CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis:

Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) recognized by BPP and was visited 6/11/70 by ROOSEVELT HILLIARD, Assistant Chief of Staff of BPP. A KATHY THOMAS was reportedly sent to Winston-Salem, N. C., from Jersey City, N. J., and identified by [REDACTED] as KATHERINE YVONNE HARRIS. The group continues to receive newspapers and to be in contact with other BPP groups.

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GROUP 2
EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC
DOWNGRADING AND
DECLASSIFICATION

CE 157-6171

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I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES
AS EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER
PARTY LEADERS

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The following article appeared in "The Black Panther," the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party, published at San Francisco, California, in its issue of July 4, 1970:

ONE OF OUR MAIN PURPOSES IS TO UNIFY OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE NORTH WITH OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE SOUTH



The favorite historical tactic used by the exploiter against the exploited, the master against the slave has been, and continues to be the age-old tactic of divide and conquer. Throughout history, we can see that this has been done to bring about, and insure the enslavement of one group by another, one class by another, one nation by another. We can see that this was done to us in Africa. The slave traders played tribe against tribe, region against region and in so doing, brought about the situation he desired. The colonization of Africa, and the slaves to serve as cheap, no-cost labor for plantation owners in the Southern Region of America.

When we examine history, we see that during different struggles of people for their freedom, you have different occurrences of this tactic, of divide and conquer. We can see that in our situation as Black people in racist Babylon the enemy has used class differences to divide us, and there-

fore, keeps us enslaved. House nigger against the field nigger, Joe college nigger against the street nigger (lumpen), light-skinned niggers against the dark-skinned niggers and finally the "so-called good niggers" (responsible leaders) against the "so-called bad niggers" (revolutionaries). They have always used lackies and bootlickers against the people, as a buffer zone between them and the angry masses that threaten their greedy existence. The form that this genocidal tactic of divide and conquer is taking at this time is to divide the Vanguard Party, the people's Party - the Black Panther Party away from the masses of Black people. This is the political form; geographically they are trying to keep our brothers and sisters in the North from uniting with our brothers and sisters in the South. They, the oppressors, are doing this, because they know if there is unity between the North and South this sham game will come to a deathly end. They are trying desperately to keep our brothers and sisters in the North herded together in the urban cities, in centralized, highly explosive areas, from coming together with our brothers and sisters, who are living in wretched conditions, in the rural areas, and small cities of the South.

In this final stage of revolutionary struggle, we find ourselves in a life or death situation. The pigs are planning to commit mass murder (genocide) against us. This situation that we face, that threatens our survival, that threatens our very existence, has to be met with a political plan of action, that smashes the enemy's tactic of divide and conquer - that unites the whole people, and brings an end to the existence of the enemy.

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We see that our people are no longer confined to a certain geographical area, (the South). We see that we are spread through the confines of racist America. We see that once we were confined to a certain area, exploited and oppressed in the foul clutches of slavery. We fought our way out of this lower form of slavery, we expanded and migrated to the North, believing the lying lips of

the abolitionists that "a better life" awaited us. We moved North, but became entrenched in a different, higher form of slavery based not on land, but in the factories. This is called capitalism. So now we see that we are struggling in all parts of the country, in all sectors of the economy, on all fronts in this society. If we understand that, then we can understand that nothing is isolated, the struggle isn't just happening in the North, in the cities, in California, in the South, that the struggle isn't just happening in the courts, in the schools, in the factories, that the struggle doesn't just involve the Black Panther Party, and Black people, that the struggle is happening everywhere. Because the conditions and basis for a revolution exist everywhere in racist Babylon. We can see that it is necessary for the whole people to rise up against the oppressor, the enemy, and smash him into non-existence. We can see that we can never allow the enemy to force us to think in terms of the part, and place primary focus on the part, to localize the struggle, to regionalize it, to confine it to a certain area. We should always think and act in terms of the whole, the whole country, the whole people, the whole problem, the whole solution. We must do it this way, simply because this is the only way to get total and complete liberation for our people.

As we begin the final stage of this revolutionary thrust, we see it having its beginning in the South, where the conditions and the people were the most backward. As this was happening, we can see the enemy trying shrewdly to confine the struggle to a certain area, to keep it from spreading to the rest of the oppressed masses, the majority, the whole people. We see them trying to tell us that the people are fighting conditions that are particular to their own town, their city, their region. We see them



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telling us that these conditions do not exist where we live. We see the enemy trying to stop the people from recognizing the conditions that exist among them in their area. They try to stop us from seeing the whole. The enemy bides his time, tries to check the revolution, the struggle, in an effort to brainwash and condition the people. So that when they do react, they will move in the manner in which the oppressor programmed them to move. The enemy defines the problem, the enemy passes out the information, creates opinion, says what is good, what is bad, what he will accept and what he will not tolerate. This has happened to us, while we watched; and when we did give assistance (CORE, Freedom Riders, Liberals, SNCC, we didn't come with new ideas, we did not come with revolutionary ideas. We went with the program and plan of action given to us by the enemy. The same program he was using to stymie the struggle, in an effort to push the movement along in a passive, and politically backward fashion. When the oppressor accomplished that, he shamed out the whole integration, civil rights trick bag on the people.

Then there was a new development. We see Malcolm X, we see him speaking in the idiom of the people we see him saying that we cannot allow the enemy to define our struggle, to develop our programs, to run our struggle. We see the enemy again becoming worried, we see the enemy more and more using his lackey minister from the South and bringing them into the North, you see them pushing non-violence, civil rights

passivity. We see Malcolm defeating this attempt by the enemy to use his lackies, to stop a Black man, who could and would unite the whole people around truly revolutionary principles. The lackies could not silence Malcolm. The enemy had to silence Malcolm themselves, they placed guns in the hands of some bootlicking niggers and shot Malcolm down. Before Malcolm died, he predicted the rebellions that did occur in the urban areas of the country. He planted the seed of revolution in the hearts and minds of the people. He spoke of self-defense, instead of non-violence, self-determination, instead of dependency on the enemy and the gun as a basic tool of liberation. He also spoke of the need of a truly revolutionary organization that spoke and acted in the people's interest. At this point, emphasis of the struggle switched to the North, as Malcolm had predicted, nothing the enemy did could stop it. His old tactic was failing. Black people were now truly moving for their freedom. Niggers rebelled in the streets, they were met by cries of "he cool", they were met by "the war on poverty", a tactic they used to keep the concept of self-defense from spreading, again to the whole.

The civil rights movement expanded out of the South, into the North and failed - because they tried to organize the people around a program that wasn't drawn up by the people. They were pushing the enemy's program, and you can't organize the people around the enemy's program and expect to succeed. So

we can see that Malcolm planted the seed and the product of that seed is Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. We see the Party developing on the West coast, the last geographical area that Black people migrated to. We see the Party grow, expand and develop throughout the West, Midwest, throughout the East Coast. We see the pigs trying, in the beginning to confine the Party on the West Coast, but failing. They failed because the Party was based on true revolutionary principles. We see them failing to divide the people from the Party, we see them trying to lie, to confuse the people but we see them failing. We see the Party working in the cities, expanding its base, serving the people, setting examples for the people to follow, teaching self-defense to the people. If you make an analysis, you see the Party being successful in our attempts to spur the people to action, we see the pigs failing in their attempts to annihilate the Black Panther Party. So we find ourselves struggling as a Party, but recognizing that we are always concerned with the whole, we find ourselves at the crossroads, at the enemy's last attempt to divide and conquer, his attempt to keep us from broadening our struggle to encompass the South.

we must solve this problem. To solve this problem we have to analyze the situation. If we do, we see that if we do not move into the South to serve the people, to educate the people and do the things there that we did in the North, then we are not thinking and acting in terms of the whole people, the whole problem. We would then be allowing all of the bootlickers and lackies, and those who would seek to have the Party destroyed, to have an uncontested base to rap down their lies and phony programs on a large segment of our people. We have to understand that this could easily happen. In the final analysis, it would prove disastrous to our complete and total liberation. Regionalism during the struggle for our liberation could develop into an antagonistic contradiction among the people, and therefore lead to the defeat of our efforts to unite the people and make a socialist society.

Our Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton has said "The Black Panther Party is the People's Party and we are primarily interested in freeing man". If we are after the complete and total liberation of our people, then we must go among them, wherever they are.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Doug Miranda
Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

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II. ACTS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM OR
POLICIES

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None.

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CE 157-6171

III. TEACHING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROGRAM

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CE 157-6171

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] reported it was determined that [REDACTED] had just returned from a trip to [REDACTED]. The exact purpose of the trip was not known but [REDACTED] did say that the "cracker students" were helping the Black Panthers in the North. By "cracker students" [REDACTED] means white students. [REDACTED] had in his possession a Black Panther Party newspaper that he had obtained somewhere during his trip. [REDACTED] stated that there was some good information in this paper particularly about organizing self defense groups, but he said that such a self defense group would have to practice because you just cannot read a book and know how to do something, comparing it to driving an automobile in that you cannot learn to drive a car by reading. From the conversation, it did not appear [REDACTED] knew of any self defense groups in the Charlotte, North Carolina, area and was merely making this statement in connection with the article.

On [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was again commenting on the article in the paper which concerned the making of Molotov cocktails and this article also contained instructions for making homemade hand grenades by using an aerosol can.

According to [REDACTED] there is no known Panther group at Charlotte, North Carolina, and [REDACTED] is not known to be a member of the BPP. *ok*

The following article appeared in the "Black Panther," in its issue of July 4, 1970:

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WINSTON SALEM LIBERATION SCHOOL

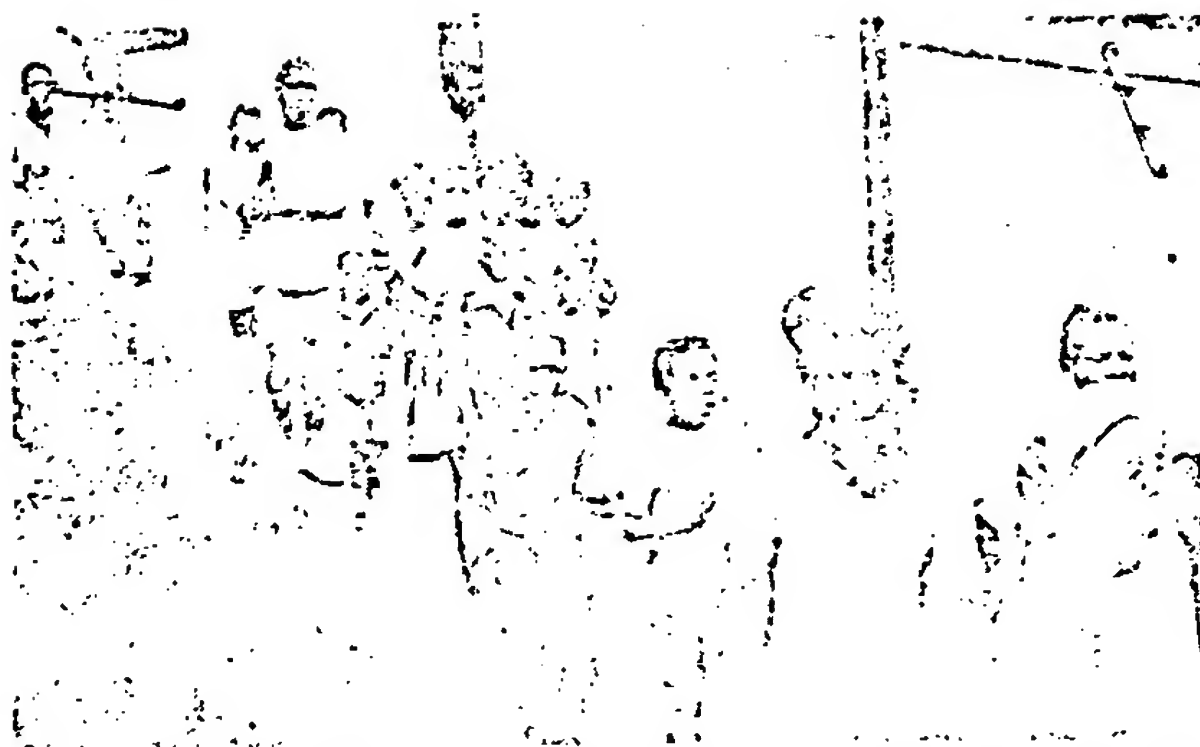
"We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society."

As members of the Black Liberation Army, we are the Vanguard Party of the masses. Therefore, we should help our people and protect them by any means necessary.

We realize that our people have been under oppression for over 400 years. Our people are hungry and without clothes, without decent housing and without knowledge of the nature of our struggle. When the people from the community come to us for help, this is good; we say right on, to that, because that is what we're here for, "to serve the people". We must remain humble servants of the people. As Huey says, "we are oxen, to be

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ridden by the people'', and we are going to be ridden down the path of a people's revolution.

We say that our people and our youth in particular should be educated, to the nature of our struggle. So what do we do? We implement Liberation School from 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. every day Monday through Friday; and political education classes for the community on Tuesday night from 7:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The lunch program is now functioning here in Winston-Salem. It started June 15, 1970, we had approximately 40 kids and they responded beautifully. The young warriors are learning and taking the concept of the 'Big Family' (so-

cialism) as their own, and will spread these ideas in the community. We must continue to let this beautiful thing go on. We have to hold fast and educate the youth because the Youth Make the Revolution.

Most of us will not live to see the end of the revolution, but our one comforting thought is that the youth will do as we have done in the name of the Revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE YOUTH

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

David Bowman

Cynthia Criss

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On [REDACTED] reported that on [REDACTED], [REDACTED] a political meeting was held at the BPP headquarters at 1602 East 14th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and the main speaker was LARRY LITTLE who talked to the group from the surrounding community concerning "oppression of the pig forces of the city." He spoke at length concerning a new constitution to be written by black people in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, this fall.

[REDACTED] reported on [REDACTED] that LARRY LITTLE, mentioned above, was a new captain of defense of the Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism.

W.C.

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OF 57-6171

IV. DOCUMENTS URGING THE REVOLUTIONARY
PROGRAM

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On June 3, 1970, SF T-22 reported that [REDACTED] BPP National Circulation Manager, was in the New York area setting up more efficient distribution system and while there, had a number of leaflets printed, some of which were sent to Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

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CE 57-6171

V. EVIDENCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

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CE 157-6171

On June 4, 1970, NK T-8 reported that a female Panther, known to [REDACTED] as KATHY THOMAS, from the West Coast who had been working at Jersey City, New Jersey, has been ordered by the BPP to go to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to function as captain of defense of the group at Winston-Salem. Accompanying her will be RICHARD ALLEN CARTER, a deserter from the United States Marine Corps.

In this regard, on June 14, 1970, NY T-66 reported that KATHY at Winston-Salem was transferred back to Jersey City, New Jersey, by the "Chief" (Chief of Staff DAVID HILLIARD).

It is noted that SF T-16 has advised that on June 11, 1970, JUNE HILLIARD was at Greensboro, North Carolina, and was to later travel to Newark, New Jersey, and then return to the West Coast.

JUNE HILLIARD whose true name is ROOSEVELT HILLIARD is the Assistant Chief of Staff of the BPP and the brother of DAVID HILLIARD.

[REDACTED] reported that JUNE HILLIARD was at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on June 11, 1970, but left "going home." The reason for his visit was unknown to [REDACTED]

On May 26, 1970, NH T-12 reported that [REDACTED] formerly of New Haven, Connecticut, who had traveled to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, reported that the group at Winston-Salem was hard up for money and equipment and the telephone numbers were 722-4097 for the National Committee to Combat Fascism and 723-5775 for the "Head."

It is noted that on [REDACTED] reported that WILLIAM RANDOLPH RICE, lieutenant in charge of the BPP newspaper distribution in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, resides at 940H Cleveland Avenue, where there is no telephone but uses the phone of [REDACTED]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Date 6/18/701

On June 16, 1970, a check of the San Francisco telephone directory revealed that San Francisco telephone exchange 992-6322 was listed to the Black Panther Party, 1336 1/2 Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

On June 16, 1970, a check of the Oakland telephone directory revealed that Berkeley telephone exchange 845-0104 was listed to the Black Panther Party, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

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On 6/16/70 at San Francisco, California File # SF 157-2861

by SA [REDACTED]:krh Date dictated 6/16/70

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY LIST OF ALL RECOGNIZED CHAPTERS, BRANCHES AND N.C.C.F.S



National Hdqs.
Ministry of Information
3106 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, Ca. 94705
Office: (415) 845-0103
Ministry: 843-6705
(Bay Area)

San Francisco
National Distribution
1336 Fillmore Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94115
Office: (415) 922-0095
Distri 922-6322

Community Centers

2777 Pine Street
San Francisco, Ca.
(415) 346-4013

135 Kiska, Apt 304
San Francisco, Ca.
(415) 822-8471

Oakland

Community Centers

1321 99th Avenue
E. Oakland, Ca.
(415) 636-0944

1690 Tenth Street
W. Oakland, Ca.
(415) 465-7089

Boston
23 Winthrop Street
Roxbury, Mass.
Audrea Jones
(617) 427-9693
442-0100

Chicago
2350 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill. 60612
Bob Rush
(312) 243-8276

Denver
3125 Franklin
Denver, Colo.
(303) 222-5436

Community Center
932 E. 25th Street
Denver, Colo. 80205
(303) 534-4010

Indianapolis
113 W. 30th Street
Indianapolis, Ind.
Office (317) 925-4157

Jersey City
384 Pacific Avenue
Jersey City, N.J. 07304
(201) 432-3725

Kansas City
DISBANDED

Los Angeles
2043 Stockwell Street
Los Angeles, Ca.
(213) 635-2586

Watts Office
1810 E. 103rd
Los Angeles, Ca.
(213) 563-2728

Walter "Toure" Pope Community
Center
1511 E. 153 St.
Compton, L.A.
774-5733

Watts Community Center
2136 E. 113th Street
564-2728

N.C.C.F. Center
334 W. 55th St.
759-4518
L.A.

New Haven
35 Sylvan Avenue
New Haven, Conn. 06519
(203) 562-7463
562-8557

New York
Ministry of Information
East Coast
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, N.Y. 114
(212) 328-9911

Harlem Branch
2026 Seventh Avenue
New York, N.Y.
(212) 864-8951
666-3603

Brooklyn Branch
180 Sutter Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y.
(212) 342-2791
458-7538

Community Centers
45-B East 3rd Street
Mt. Vernon, N.Y. 10550
(914) 664-9468

Corona
101-16 Northern Blvd.
(212) 779-0550
0551
0552

Jamaica
E. Coast Distribution
108-60 New York Blvd.
(212) 523-9866

Philadelphia
1928 W. Columbia Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19121
(215) CE 6-3358

Community Center
2935 Columbia Ave.
Philadelphia, Pa.
(215) 236-3351

Richmond
520 Bissell Street
Richmond, Ca. 94801
(415) 237-6305

Seattle
173 20th Ave.
Seattle, Washington
(206) 324-8818

NCCF's

Atlantic City Comm. Center
375 N. Massachusetts Ave.
Atlantic City, N.J.
(609) 345-6361
Steve Gresham

Cleveland
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Cleveland, Ohio
or
2734 Hampshire #302
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(216) 781-3076
795-6394
Earnest Watts

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2219 Indlandale
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Malik

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Milwaukee, Wisc.
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Raymond Owen
Hm: (414) 933-5730

New Brunswick Com. Center
7 Church Street
New Brunswick, N.J.
(201) 242-3823

Raleigh House
2161 Parker Street
Omaha, Nebraska 68111
(402) 242-3823

Portland
3619 N.E. Union
Portland, Oregon 97211
(503) 284-4812

Cleveland, Miss.
1441 Aloe Street
Cleveland, Miss.
(601) 843-5601
Issac Shorter

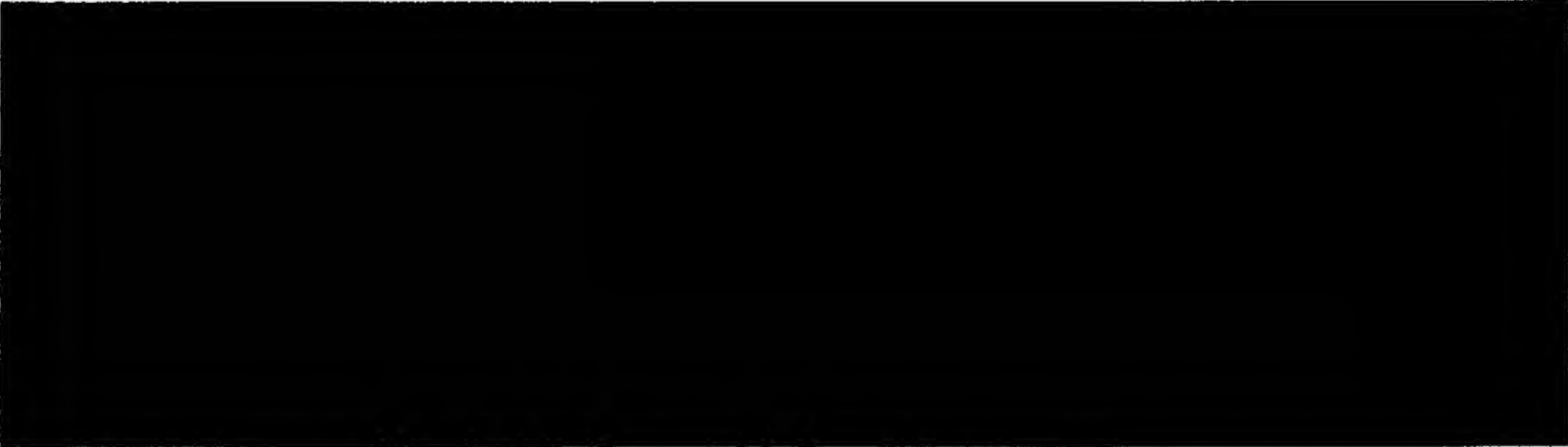
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2327 18th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
(202) 265-4418
4419

Winston Salem
1225 E. 18th Street #5
Winston Salem,
North Carolina
(919) 725-7026
R.T. Greer

Baltimore, M.D.
1202 N. Gay Street 21213
(301) 342-8536

Dover, Delaware
239 West Street 19001
(302) 734-5285
James Reed

CE 157-6171



The following articles appeared in issues of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California, dated June 6, 1970, and June 13, 1970, respectively:

LETTER FROM BLACK BROTHER IN THE FASCIST ARMY

Brothers, this letter is written from a fellow Black man from Philadelphia, and this letter is to let you know about the fascists in the racist army. You already know about the pressure being put on the Black men in the racist military and Black men in the racist United States of America as a whole. Recently, I spoke up for the Black Panther Party against the Big Power structure in a debate and tried to get the brothers to raise money for Huey's birthday benefit, and they wanted to arrest me for treason. They also tried to claim that I was throwing Black Power salutes at their so-called flag. They even made me cut my Afro saying it looked out of place. And when I told them I wanted to join the Panthers, and a couple of other brothers, the pigs and their Tounging nigger henchmen really blew their gunpowder stacks. Recently a brother from Memphis, the one who spoke out with me, was also hit with a treason charge the same time that I was, but was released with me when the pigs couldn't pick up enough evidence, was framed with a narcotic charge.

The pigs in racist Jacksonville, N.C. said he had some marijuana on him. They charged him with a \$300.00 fine and seven months probation with restriction to the base with no leave and no pay, not even to go past the front gate. Now they are trying to give him a dishonorable discharge. There are hundreds of brothers involved in cases like this. But we are powerless to do anything about it. And a lot of brothers are afraid to speak out, because of white back lash. But I don't care, we can't take this lying down. Now is the time for the people to rise up and fight back. Now is the time to strike. I hope to join your Party one day as soon as possible. Because the Black Panther Party movement is the best Black movement that the brothers have going today. Please print this letter so that the brothers and sisters back home know what's going on. And I'll be proud to sign my name to it. Also I'll keep on informing you if the pigs don't throw me in jail. In the meantime let's keep ourselves together and show some Black pride.

MORE POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PFC W. Jackson 2310895
Headquarters A-CO

2nd AMTRAC BN FT. F.M.F.
ATL.
Camp Lapeune, North Carolina
28542

PIGS HARASS

On May 24, 1970, Tony J. and Mrs. Bernice Edwards came by the N.C.M.P. They were seeking help because the pigs, two of them in particular, had been harassing and physically assaulting Tony and herself. These two pigs are named pig GENTRY (WHITE RACIST) and pig D.R. WILLIAMS (NIGGER BASTARD).

Tony and Mrs. Edwards have had three encounters with these pigs. All of them are concerned with supposedly traffic violations. But viewing the situation closely, we see that Gentry and Williams are no different than any other foul, depraved traders that occupy the Black colony across Babylon. For it was pig Williams that shot James Beasley in the back last year, claiming the brother was trying to escape, after he had been arrested for public drunkenness. Witnesses who saw the attempted murder know that Brother Beasley was much too drunk to walk, let alone make an attempt to escape from two armed pigs.

So, it was in the same fashion that pigs, Gentry and Williams started their campaign of harassment and brutality against Tony and Mrs. Edwards. First Tony was given a ticket for making an illegal turn at an intersection. Next, he was issued a capias (bench warrant) for not paying the fine for the ticket. (The money was used to pay his rent and buy food for his family.)

After this they stopped Tony and said he was speeding. This was impossible because the motor in his car was shot, and couldn't do more than 25 m.p.h. These pigs thought that Tony was a Black Panther, because of the bumper sticker he displayed (Support Your Local Black Panther Party) and the first thing they said as they grabbed him from his car

was. "we gonna teach you Black Panthers a lesson." They took his license (which was not returned) and gave him a speeding ticket and took him to jail.

About three days later, the pigs came to Tony's house late at night (KKK fashion) as he and his wife and child were in bed. The pigs came to the door (Gentry and Williams) to serve some sort of capias on him. After gaining entrance to the house, these pigs began to run rampant through the brother's house, these pigs began to brutalize his wife, pushing her and hitting her for no reason other than a show of force. Tony cursed the pigs out and they slinked off into the night.

The final act came when Gentry and Williams came to issue a warrant for Tony charging him with abusive language and assault on a pig. There were seven car loads of pigs. Every one of them racists, but all of them stood back and let the nape-nigger pig perform (Williams hit Mrs. Edwards in the breast with his elbow and twisted Tony's arm up behind his back, while holding the back of Tony's belt and forcibly took him to the pig car. (A pig is a pig, is a pig is a pig.)

They took Tony to jail and placed him under \$1,000 bond. Tony got out on bail and at the trial (legal lynching) Tony was given 65 days in jail. Tony appealed this sentence and came to the National Committee to Combat Fascism for help, and we are assisting the brother and Mrs. Edwards in every way we can.

We are exposing these masquerading victims of unprovoked attacks (Gentry and Williams) to the people and the people will deal with them in a righteous manner.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem
Nelson Malloy

THE MURDER OF HENRY 'DICKIE' MARROW OXFORD, N.C.

Henry Marrow was murdered by two racist White people on May 11, 1970. It was a case of murder in the 1st degree. Henry and some brothers were rapping. This racist White woman began to nag, thinking they had said something to her. She, running wild, went into the store owned by John Teel and said, "some niggers were insulting me." Teel and his son, Larry, came running out of the store, verbally abusing and threatening the brothers. The Teels had an ax handle as they approached the brothers and by this time everyone had moved back except Henry. Henry had pulled out his knife to defend himself, and at the same time, tried to explain to the two fools that they had said nothing to this White lady. But, the Teels refused to listen and seeing that Henry was going to defend himself, they ran back into the store and came out with a shotgun and a rifle. The brothers began to run and the Teels fired into the crowd of brothers, striking Henry in the back of his thigh. Henry fell and the Teels converged on him and began beating him with the ax handle as Henry lay helpless on the ground. As Larry Teel beat Henry, he turned and asked his daddy what should he do then. John Teel handed his son the rifle and told him "kill the nigger bastard." Doing something he wanted to do all along and carrying out the command of his daddy, Larry Teel shot Henry in the forehead from point-blank range.

Also injured in the incident was

William Chavious. William was walking up as the Teels started shooting and was wounded in the shoulder and face by shotgun pellets. When William was hit, he fell to the ground and witnessed the whole thing. There were some sisters who also witnessed the entire event. Also, James Chavious was hidden out of sight and heard the elder Teel tell the younger Teel to "kill the nigger bastard."

Upon hearing of the shooting of her husband, Mrs. Willie Mae Marrow went to the hospital to see her husband. When she got there,

WON'T BE LONG,
HON... CHIEF
CALLED AN' SAID
I GOTTA GO
KILL MESELF
NOTHER
NIGGER!



running around free and Mrs. Marrow saw Assist. (Chief of Pigs Nathaniel White.) She asked him whether she could take out a warrant for the Teels arrest. Pig White oinked that he couldn't issue a warrant (A nigger has no rights which a White man is bound to respect.) because there is so much confusion that he didn't know who had shot Henry Marrow. It wasn't until the next day that the Teels were apprehended.

Henry Marrow lived at 105 King St., Oxford, N.C. with Willie Mae Marrow and their two children, Tammy Threall-age 2, and Denise-age 14 months. They had been married 19 months. Henry was 23 yrs. old, and a veteran from Vietnam.

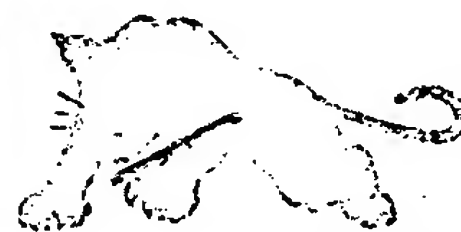
When Black people can be shot down for no reason at all, it is time for them to re-evaluate their situation and see that it is time for them to begin to arm themselves. Our fight for survival and liberation must be urged here in Babylon and we must refuse to be a mercenary for a government that doesn't grant you your constitutional rights or profit you and your family from masquerading, racist, KKK dogs.

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem

Field L. Nelson Malley NC

they refused (doctors) to let her see him. The doctors told her that they had to take him to the Duke Hospital and said she couldn't go because the ambulance was too crowded after she requested to ride with her husband in the ambulance.

At this time the Teels were still



CONFIDENTIAL

CE 57-6171

The following seven articles appeared in the June 20, 1970, issue of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California:

CONFIDENTIAL

TOO WRONG FOR TOO LONG

Lackeys, bootlickers, so-called leaders of the Black community are nothing more than endorsed spokesmen. They are jack-a-pe parrots that say only what the oppressors have programmed them to say. The endorsed spokesmen are just as deadly as the oppressor and must be dealt with in the same manner. The endorsed spokesmen are treacherous, deceitful, and spineless dogs, as they are manipulated by the oppressor to teach their people to be fearful and cowardly when faced with the jive that the oppressor is meting out.

Three such buffons are Carl Russell (Board of Aldermen, Lewis Ray (Attorney for legal aid society) and George Redd (on the force). These three fools acted against the will of the people and talked in a crazed manner to the people as they were dealing in a righteous manner to get the avaricious A & P store located in the Black community to meet the demands of the Black community.

As the people had gotten together and were picking this capitalist exploiter of the community, along comes mad dog Russell in his big black Cadillac checking out the scene. He jumped up in a sister's face and oinked, "Y'all are silly." The sister said, "You are supposed to be OUR Alderman." And the fool replied, "Why don't you run for Alderman", as though anyone would want to be co-opted into such a decadent society. Then along comes Ray, who is also supposed to be a servant of the people. He goes into the store and buys a carton

of drinks (Pepsi-Cola one of the biggest exploiters of the whole world). Upon leaving the people approached him explaining that they were attempting to show the avaricious dogs that own and operate A & P that they could not exploit Black people and continue to exist in the Black community. This running-dog, flunky of the power structure stated "Y'all are being oppressed, I ain't being oppressed." This is what is known as a spokesman for the Black community -- otherwise known as F-U-O-L. And to this simpleton, the people say, you can continue to oink, we are no longer listening to you, punk. And as no surprise to anyone, Redd comes up while off duty and says he in only gonna buy a few items. But when he leaves the store, it looks as though he was trying to make up to this capitalist, the money that A & P had lost, when Black people refused to patronize his exploitative enterprise.

Despite the actions of these scabbie napes, the people's picket line was 95% effective. But to those fools, who feel that they are not being oppressed, to those dummies who feel as though they are in some type of prestige position to those school teachers that say that their feet hurt and they can't go to another store because of their stinking feet, the people can only say--repudiate the oppressor and crawl back to you people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE,
DOWN WITH FLUNKYISM

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.
Nelson Malloy

RACIST SLUMLORDS OF WINSTON SALEM

In the month of January 1970, the landlords of Winston-Salem in the Colony Place area of the city which starts at 9th and Cleveland and Highland Avenue and extends to 12 1/2 on the East side of town, sent notices to all tenants in Colony Place concerning the increase in rent. The apartments are already renting for \$75.00 and \$80.00 for one and two bedrooms respectively. The apartments are not really worth \$10.00 a month so we see that Perrell Realtors are nothing but capitalists, with ideas of making profits for the best interests of

oppressor has no rights which the oppressed are bound to respect. If the landlords don't supply the people with decent housing, with fair rents, then we say that the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives, so that the community with aid from the government, can build decent housing for the people. This is just one of the basic necessities of life which we have a right to. We see you as denying the people of that right, you're nothing but a bloodsucking beast and the tenants of Colony



XEROX COPIES MAP

COLONY PLACE

themselves and not for the betterment of the condition of the people that pays them rent.

We're saying that until Perrell Realtors lowers the ridiculous prices and cleans up these rat infested houses, foul electricity and plumbing fixtures, we'll pay him exactly what he deserves and that is-- NOTHING. The laws were broken when you rented the apartments which were built in less than a month's time, and going up on rents before the loan was paid off. So we see you as a lawbreaker.

What we say to that is, 'the

Place are tired of their blood being sucked by such an inhuman beast. The only blood that will be sacrificed will be the blood of your neck and all other beasts like you. We will no longer sit back and do nothing while you raise the rent against the people's will. The house should be in the hands of the people, because that's who they belong to.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Winston-Salem, N.C.
Rice

WE WILL RUN THE CAPITALIST OUT OF OUR COMMUNITIES

note: Due to the excessive lies that have been spread by the racist mass media about the boycott of the A & P stores in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, the National Committee to Combat Fascism conceives it to be our duty to get the correct information out to the people about the boycott of the A & P stores in Winston - Salem. The National Committee to Combat Fascism along with all the beautiful people from the Black community who are participating in the boycott are asking people of Winston-Salem and people throughout this racist country of Babylon to not to shop at any A & P stores until the just demands of the people are met.

In November of 1969, Mrs. Afford received severe injuries to her hand while shopping at the A & P store on Bowen Boulevard. On this particular day there was one of the usual five-time sales on jelly in a large barrel. Mrs. Afford simply reached down into the barrel to pick out a jar of jelly and received a very badly cut hand from broken up jelly jars hidden in the barrel. Mrs. Afford has been out of work from November 1969 to this present day, June 8. The A & P management refused to compensate Mrs. Afford one dime for their negligence of responsibility. Mrs. Afford decided to take her case to the courts, but as we well know, the courts are non-functional for Black people because niggers have no rights that racist cracker courts are bound to respect. The case was simply thrown out of the courts.

Also, Mrs. Joyce Henderson who was formally a cashier at the A & P on Bowen Blvd. was transferred out of the Black community to the A & P store in the White community, mainly because she re-

fused to exploit her people and be a showcase nigger for the A & P management. Also Mrs. Henderson couldn't get along with the White racist manager (she would not be a lackey for him), and as a result she was told that one of them had to go and so this Black woman was transferred out of her community. The people of the Black community are demanding that Mrs. Henderson be transferred back to A & P on Bowen Blvd and given her previous position of cashier.

The Black community is also demanding: That a Black manager be hired immediately to manage the A & P store on Bowen Blvd. This manager must be accepted by the Black community.

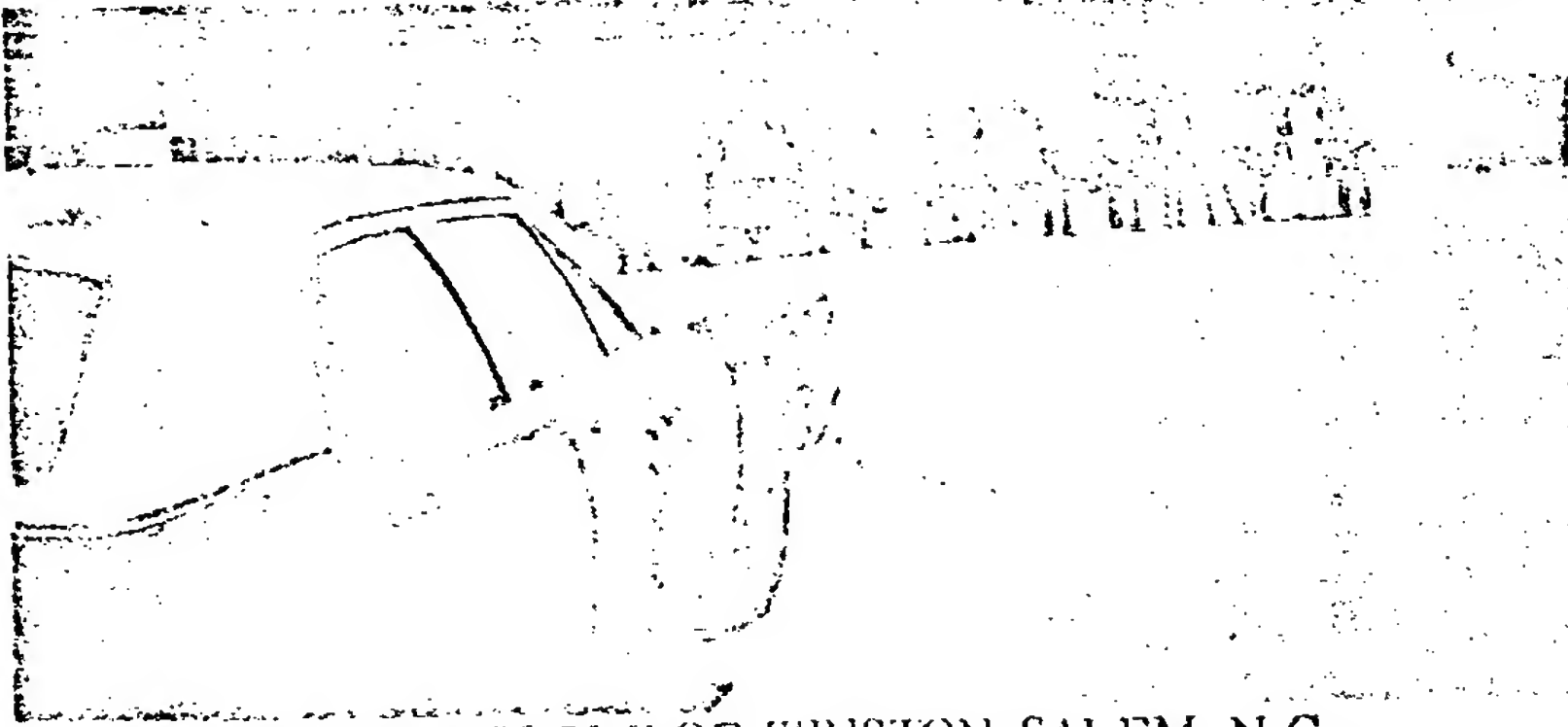
That A & P make acceptable contributions to such needed community programs as Free Breakfast for Children Program and Free Lunch Programs.

That the percentage of Black employment correspond with the amount of trade done by Black people (approximately 95%).

That the prices of items at the A & P stores in the Black community be placed at such a level that the Black community from the 11th Street Bottoms to the Norwood estates can afford, and that the very best of foods be placed in the stores in the Black community.

Recognizing that A & P stores make millions off the Black community weekly the National Committee to Combat Fascism and the people of the community feel that these are very modest demands that we make. Most of the demands have been presented to

FOOD STORES



BLACK PEOPLE OF WINSTON-SALEM, N.C., BOYCOTT AVARICIOUS A & P GROCERY.

the A & P management sever months earlier but the demar seemingly fell on deaf ears. several people of the community along with the N.C.C.F. decide to go behind closed doors a figure out how we were going to deal with these capitalists and came up with a very intelligent decision and that decision was based on the idea that when people's demands are ignored, as if the people have no right to demand, then it's time to use our power to disrupt--the power to throw a nigger wrench into the capitalist machinery. So early Saturday morning people from the community and members of the N.C.C.F. got together and made signs that were going to be used for the boycott. It was really beautiful to see the people turn around

and refuse to shop at the A & P store. Several people of the community brought their cars to help take people shopping to other stores in the community. Several people of the community who had originally come to shop at the A & P but saw what was happening not only decided to turn around but also went home and prepared sandwiches and drinks for the community troops participating in the boycott. The spirit of the people was really something beautiful to behold. The boycott was near perfect but as always you will have a few bootlicking fools. But these bootlicking niggers small-time trade was not enough to offset the nearly \$8,000 worth of trade that A & P lost that day. These niggers proved themselves to be NOT leaders (they were supposed

community leaders) of the people to freedom but bought off storefront, backwater jerks. While it was the brothers (the lumpen, the bad bloods from the bottoms) that did honor the people's picket line and did not shop in the store that proved to be truly committed to the people's struggle. The masses of the people honored the boycott and to the people who participated in the boycott this proves without a shadow of a doubt that the demands are righteous. So the question is now posed clear and simple to the A & P management and that is the question of EITHER/OR - Either you make the A & P relevant to the needs of the Black community or GET OUT.

"We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black community."

SEIZE THE TIME
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.
Larry

THE LABOR QUESTION

On the contradiction between capital and labor, we here in Winston-Salem find ourselves in the position where bloodsucker R.J. Reynolds is wholly in control of our lives and destiny. (This is the same

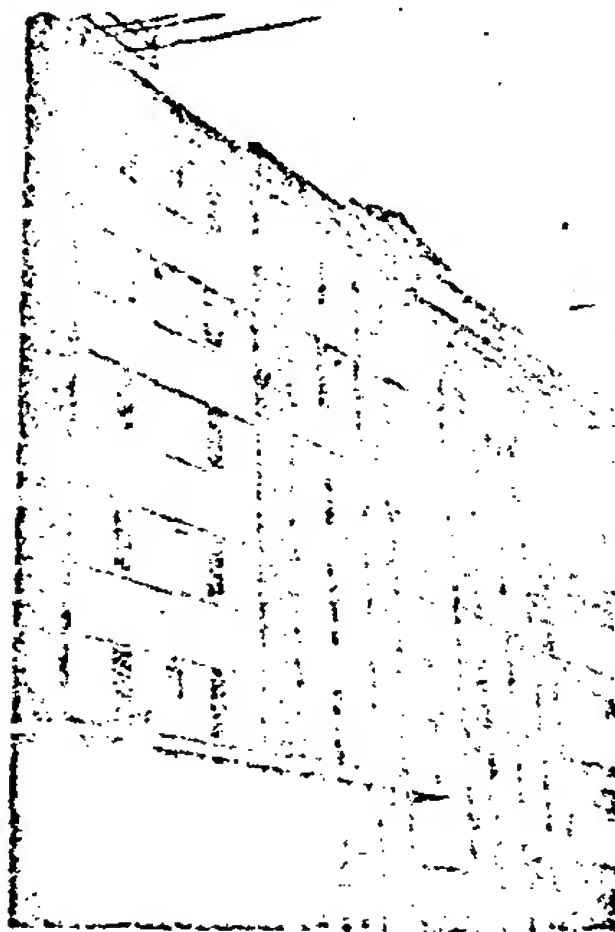
logy has to offer, for ourselves and our loved ones. Here in Winston-Salem, as well as in all of Babylon we still find ourselves in the unique position where we are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

The very nature of capitalism is where big businessmen (in this case R.J. Reynolds) are paying the lowest possible wages so that they make the highest possible profit. We slave endless hours for R.J. Reynolds yet are still forced on many occasions to work two jobs to support our families and dependents while R.J. Reynolds happily sits back and counts the millions we Black people produce. We make dollars for R.J. Reynolds yet receive pennies for ourselves.

So we are faced with a question, "Are we going to wait until the few pennies R.J. Reynolds throws us, gets too few after pay day or will we seize the time and tell R.J. Reynolds and the rest of the bloodsuckers, up against the wall this is a stick up. "We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our Black community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!
SEIZE THE FACTORIES
BECAUSE OUR LABOR MAKES THEM PRODUCE!

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.
Cain



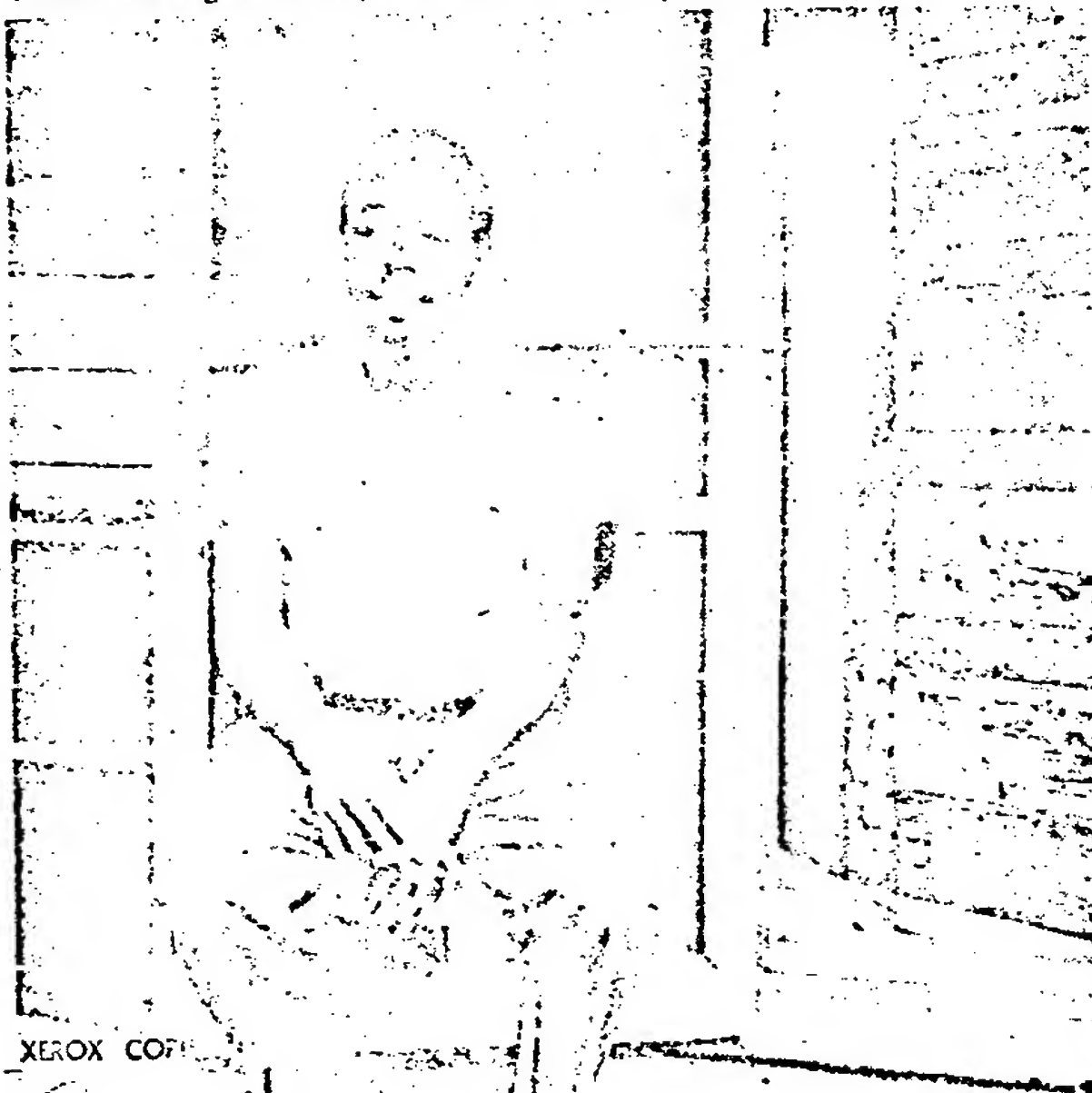
R. J. Reynold's Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, NC company that makes metals for bombers and tanks and tools of war). Number one of our Ten Point Platform and Program states that: "We want freedom, we want the power to determine the destinies of our own Black community." A point expressing the desires to all Black people caught up here in the midst of America to be able enjoy the best that human techno-

AMBULANCE SERVICE OR GENOCIDE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Black people have been the constant victims of the genocidal practices of this racist country called the U.S.A. for over 400 years. Death has been our companion since we first got to the shores of this country and today, nothing has changed. A premeditated death greets us at every turn, this is known as a genocidal plan to ex-

was refused ambulance service because he didn't have \$20.00, the fee charged to take a person to the hospital. While investigating the situation, which is a common occurrence, it was learned that after the ambulance was called it got there an hour later. The attendants, both racist Whites, thinking of nothing but money,



NOVELL DURANT REFUSED AMBULANCE SERVICE FOR LACK OF \$20.00.

terminate an entire race of people, whose services are no longer needed. This plan is carried out in many devious ways and others not so devious. Sometimes one has to look closely at a situation to know what's really going down.

On May 25th, 1970 Novell Durant

something they had been trained to do, failed to investigate, when if they had, they would have known that Novell had a clinic card which entitled him to free ambulance service. But seeing there was no money to rob the blood of, they simply left the brother lying

in the day suffering, saying they weren't taking him anywhere unless he paid them \$20.00. In other words they were saying, "Die Nigger Die".

But Novell got to the hospital anyway. But dig on this, the hospital that he had to go to was about five miles away from where he lives. There is a hospital in the Black community, but the Welfare Department assigned him to a hospital way out near the city limits, hoping the nigger would die before he got there. A Black man can see that these practices are nothing more than part and parcel of a total plan of genocide against Black people.

The plan becomes very clear as you look at the following facts:

Novell Durant stays at 215 W. 10 1/2 St. with his step-father, Frank Byner. Both men are disabled. Novell is an epileptic and Mr. Joyner has a number of disabling ills that keep him from working. They are both on welfare. Novell is supposed to start receiving a check within the next two weeks and his step-father gets just enough to pay rent. It is necessary for him to find other means of obtaining food because the welfare department refuses to give him more money for food. They told him to take a full examination to see if he is totally disabled before they give him any more money. Novell's mother is at Black Mountain Sanitarium, a hospital for people with tuberculosis. Novell had gone to the hospital before some time earlier in the month at which time the doctor instructed him to stop taking medication for his epilepsy. The moment he got back home Novell had a seizure before he could even get into the house.

After talking to Novell he told me that the doctor (Dr. Tucker at Forsyth Hospital) told him he had a case of pneumonia developing. The doctor gave Novell some medicine and sent him home.

N.C.C.F. Winston-Salem
Nelson Malloy

TO PARENTS — WHOSE CHILDREN ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NATIONAL SALVATION

Since the inception of the Black Panther Party in 1966, young people (19 and under) have been the workers and driving force of the people's just struggle for liberation. Our youth historically have been the activists from the early days of our struggle, they have been the first ones on the picket lines, the first ones to demonstrate, the first ones to bring up their grievances, the first ones to say "That's not right". They have gotten up at 5:30 a.m. to feed hungry children, they have been the teachers in the liberation schools, they have also been the leaders when the struggle reached the level of taking to the streets in Watts, Detroit and Newark. We must protect our youth, our leaders of the people's struggle at all costs. For their participation in the struggle, they have been thrown in jail, beat up, vicious police dogs put on them, high pressure water hoses turned on them and murdered as was the case of Li'l Bobby Hutton. They are even attacked in their homes by their parents. They have been thrown out of their homes, they have been cursed by their parents and labelled as troublemakers, disrespectful and just plain bad.

When you begin to talk in derogatory terms about young people, we ask you remember this--the pigs are not arresting us in Southeast Asia, they are not shooting up projects and killing Black women and babies in Vietnam and Cambodia, they are not blowing up innocent Black children in other parts of the world, they are committing these atrocities here in

Babylon, right here in the Black community.

Mothers and fathers you have listened to the T.V., the radio and you have read the newspapers, but you have not listened to your children run down the 10-Point Platform and Program. You have not walked out of your doors to the Free Breakfast for School Children centers, to see what your children are trying to do.

Don't listen to the tool, press of the power structure, come and find out for yourself, and when you see the tremendous war machine that is working against the beautiful work your children are trying to do, you will be very glad to stand up and take an active part.

Don't sneak into corners when your children shout "All Power to the People". Don't hide your face and put them off with empty rhetoric when they ask you to help initiate socialistic programs that will accommodate all poor people. Support our youth in the struggle, which is in fact, your struggle.

For you parents that are forever saying "I'm going to pray for that child"--remember that prayer is good--but if Fred Hampton was murdered while he slept, in his own bed, just think what can happen to you, while you are on your knees, facing that bed. Listen to the youth and follow their righteous examples, because the youth is our salvation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SUPPORT OUR YOUTH

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.

Kathy

XEROX CC
11/11/77

ACTIONS — NOT NOTICES

"We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings."

About a week ago notices were posted on the apartments on Bruce St. (In the city of Winston-Salem, North Carolina). The supposed purpose of the notices was to inform the residents that the housing in which they have been living for years is unfit.

The city fathers know who the people are that they should prosecute, the people who put these houses up for rent and refuse to repair them, (the slumlords). So as a measure of pacification, they have the housing inspectors post these notices to make the people think that the city had done its part. The truth of the matter is, they haven't done their part. If the housing isn't fit for the habitation of human beings, then why doesn't the city erect housing that is? And if they don't want to do that, they should make sure that the slumlords do so.

The slumlord in this case is Balwin. This realty rents houses all over the city--unfit housing. It must be made clear that he is committing a crime. His crime is profiteering off of the suffering of our sisters and brothers who live in these houses. It is a crime to subject a child to rats. It is a crime to deprive a human being of a decent place to live, and then charge them excessive rents.

Whenever we commit an act that the city labels as a crime, we are immediately arrested. Whenever a brother robs a store to feed his

hungry children, the pigs will not only arrest him, but beat him, because he wanted to feed his family. This basic necessity of food is denied to him because he has been denied the right to work and produce. Alright then, based on principles, which is more fundamentally correct, a man who takes some from those who have plenty to feed his kids, or a man who keeps people in unfit houses with rats, leaking faucets (sometimes no faucets at all), roaches and high rents so that he (the slumlord) can live in luxury? Which is more important--a child eating, or a man being able to own billions. Who is the real criminal?

Now who does the city arrest and take to jail, and beat? Certainly not Balwin, he would arrest that brother for trying to gain a basic necessity to feed his children though. But what we are saying is to arrest Balwin for having houses unfit for humans and for not fixing them. He is the criminal, but the city inspector won't have him arrested. Until he (Balwin) is arrested we don't want him putting up notices telling us what we knew all the time, the houses aren't any good, we know that crap. Tell us what you are going to do about it and then do it. IT'S ACTIONS WE WANT--NOT NOTICES.

DOWN WITH THE SLUMLORDS OF WINSTON-SALEM

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.
Hazel Black

NC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ME 157-6171

The following two articles appeared in the June 27, 1970, issue of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California:

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

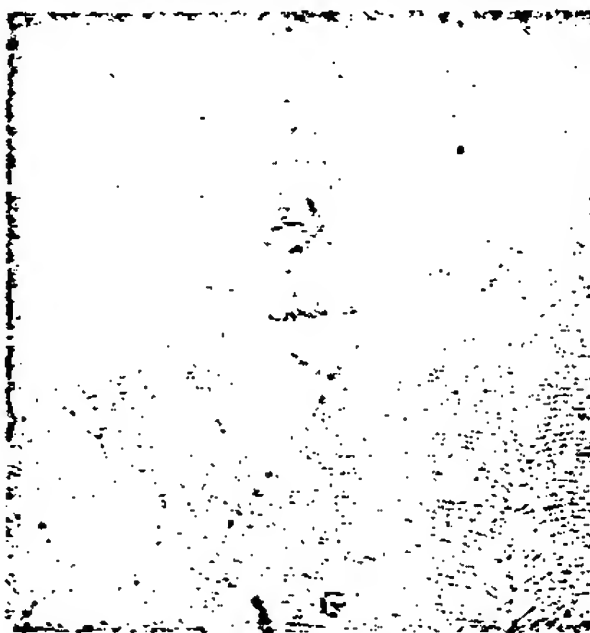
BLACK MAN RAILROADED TO GAS CHAMBER--WINSTON-SALEM, N.C

Point No. 9 of the 10-Point Platform and Program of the Black Panther Party states that "We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black community as defined by the Constitution of the United States." We have been and are being tried by all White juries that have no understanding of the 'average' reasoning man of the Black community, Point No. 8, "We want freedom for all Black men held in Federal, State, County and City prisons and jails." We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

On May 21, 1970, brother Franklin Vance a 36-year old Black man of Winston-Salem was sentenced to death in the gas chamber by pig judge Walter "Hog" Crissman for the alleged raping of a 13-year old Black girl, Sister Janices Jones. There has been evidence given to show brother Franklin Vance's innocence or his guilt. What we want to do, is expose this racist judiciary system for what it really is, because whether this be a political case or not, Franklin Vance's rights were violated and he was definitely rail-roaded to the gas chamber by eleven White racist southern crackers and one very old anglo-negro which definitely doesn't make up a jury of Franklin Vance's peers.

We, the members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism know that a lot of people get "upright" when we step forth boldly and demand the immediate

release of the Black man even though he has been sentenced to the gas chamber for allegedly raping a little 13-year old Black girl. But we would like to say to the people of the Black community of Winston-Salem and the Black communities throughout Babylon that we recognize that this is a case which involves only Black people but we cannot accept the legitimacy of the so-called intermediaries of the racist judiciary system (the judge and the racist jury). Black people cannot accept the legitimacy of this racist body because to do so we would have to



FRANKLIN VANCE

accept this racist dehumanizing decision of these fools. Black people throughout this country must see this decision as an attack on all Black people and not just on brother Franklin Vance. It is an attempt to strip us of our human dignity and decency because this dehumanizing decision simply means that Franklin Vance is guilty of raping a 13-year old Black sister and therefore he should be pun-

ished to the full extent because he is not the ~~least bit~~ mentally disturbed and therefore is an average reasoning man from the Black community and that there is nothing abnormal about this man because his actions are indicative of the average reasoning man of the Black community.

The Black community should see this decision as an attempt to dehumanize all Black people and justify the oppressors enslavement of Black people, to justify keeping us as so-called second-class citizens (in this nowadays and time, second class citizenship simply means that we are twentieth century slaves). This is the very same procedure that the European pigs used to justify taking us Afro-Americans away from Africa, raping our Black women and confining us to the plantation (which now is called the Black community).

The Black community must at all times and by any means necessary challenge the legitimacy of this racist judiciary system, we must recognize that the courts are no longer and have never been functional for Black people, therefore it is high time that we quit relating to the courts and take the struggle to the streets, because the streets belong to the people and people will always have self-rule and justice in the streets.

FREE FRANKLIN VANCE
FREE ALL BLACK PEOPLE
FROM FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY
AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

N.C.C.F., Winston-Salem
Larry Little

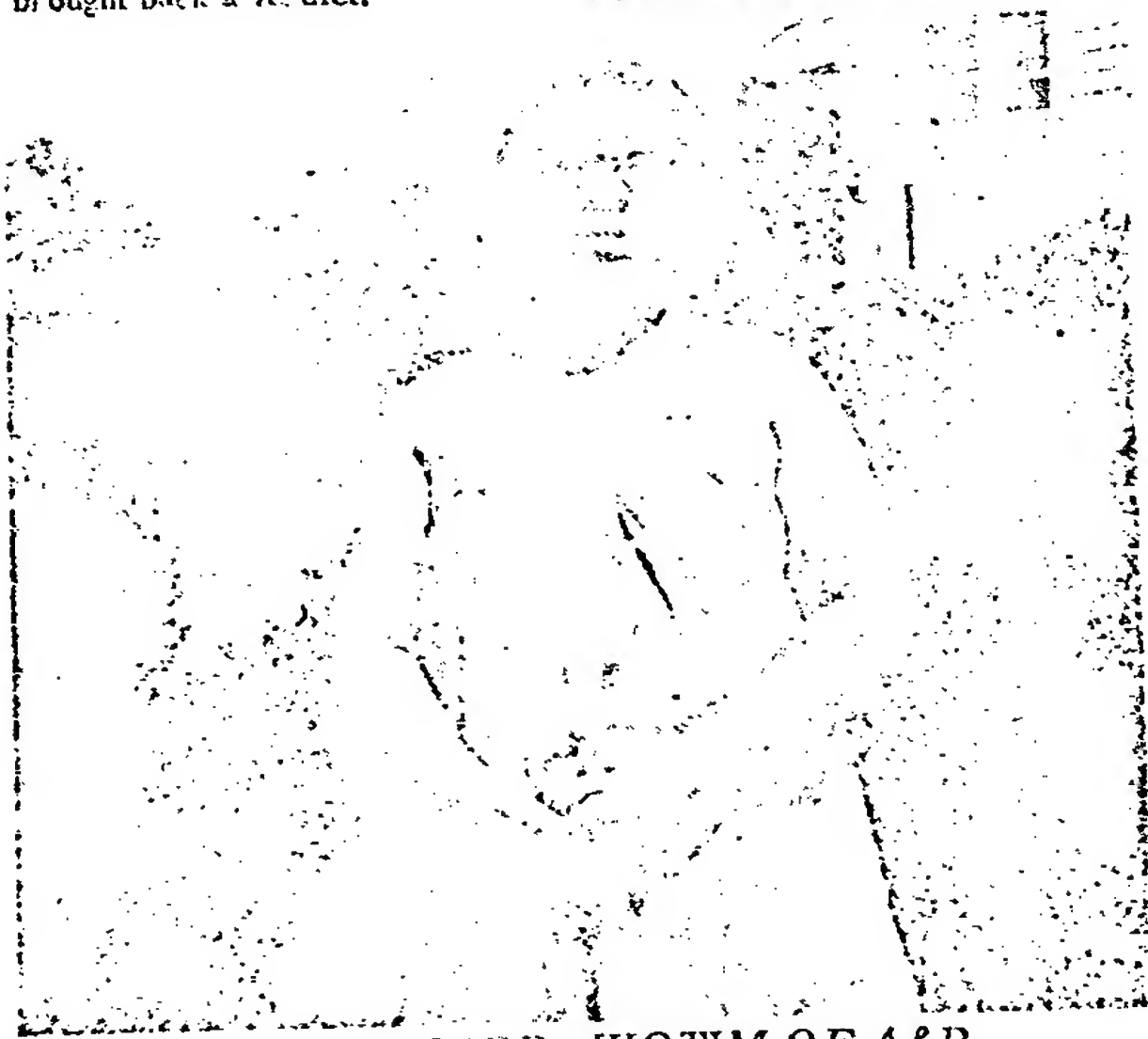
Mrs. Allford, Victim Of A&P Racism

Mrs. Allford, victim of A & P management racism, has no insurance to cover her doctor bills, incurred since cutting her hand in November, 1969. She has no money of her own, so she called the manager of the store, who told her to do this if she needed any help, and the measley dog said he couldn't help her.

When Mrs. Allford sued the store for negligence the judge threw the case out of court before the jury brought back a verdict.

her medical expenses, because she hasn't worked since November and she is still unable to use her hand. The doctors are telling her that the hand hasn't healed right, because there is more glass in it and she has to have an operation. If she does not have this operation she is in danger of losing her whole arm. Before she can receive this operation she has to have \$300 to cover some of the back medical expenses.

There is nothing else to say. We know that a couple of hundred



MRS. ALLFORD VICTIM OF A&P, FASCIST COURTS AND RACIST HOSPITALS

It is obvious to the people that the courts aren't for us from jump street, it is made for those with money and A & P certainly has enough because they rob us of thousands of dollars every day.

To further illustrate this point, Mrs. Allford's lawyer wants her to appeal the case to a higher court. Not only does Mrs. Allford not have enough money to pay the lawyer to do this, she can't even pay

dollars is nothing to A & P, whereas it means a limb from Mrs. Allford's body. Who is right in this case, who is to blame? We say that A & P mismanagement, racism and total oblivion to Black people's problems is to blame.

DOWN WITH ALL EVIL GENTRY

N.C.C.M., Winston-Salem
Hazel Mack

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CE 157-6171

The following article appeared in the July 2, 1970, issue of the "Journal," a daily newspaper published at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Carver Community Wants Changes at Food Store

By David DuKuisson
Staff Reporter

The movement to boycott the A&P store on Bowen Blvd. was not, as it first appeared, a spontaneous operation of the Black Panthers.

The activity became visible Saturday, June 6, when pickets appeared at the store, urging shoppers to go elsewhere. The boycott was effective that day, by agreement of the store manager, participants and policemen who kept an eye on things.

The scene was repeated the following Saturday, but the pickets have not reappeared. Observers in the Carver community—the store's market area—estimate that the store felt a substantial loss of business for a week and a half. Some regular customers continue to stay away.

The pickets gave out leaflets listing six demands:

1. That Mrs. Sara Alford, who was injured in the store last fall, be compensated by A&P.
2. That a cashier, Mrs. Joyce Henderson, be returned to her job. (Mrs. Henderson had recently been transferred to the A&P at Northside Shopping Center as a produce clerk.)
3. That a Negro manager be hired for the Bowen Blvd. store.
4. That the A&P contribute to Black Panther programs for feeding poor children.
5. That the store employ Negroes in proportion to its Negro trade.
6. That the store carry higher-quality foods, at prices "that the black community can afford."

It is now apparent that at least one of the points, a Negro manager, had been under negotiation for at least four years between the Carver Civic Club and the A&P. The store's customers are virtually all Negroes, and it is the only supermarket in the area.

The Carver Club, whose more than 200 members span the

economic extremes of the black community, has regarded the managership as the key to solving all other sources of friction between the community and the store.

A club spokesman said yesterday that early in their dealings with the club, A&P officials had seemed receptive to the idea. Their first response, he said, was that qualified black candidates were not available.

Their second was to transfer a Negro from eastern North Carolina to be assistant manager of the store. It was privately understood that the new man, Willie J. Medlock, was being groomed for the top job.

However, Medlock remains assistant to E. H. Varner, the white manager.

As optimism faded among Carver residents, other grievances about the store gained prominence.

Separate conversations with several relatively affluent Carver people, for example, reveal a pervasive feeling that Bowen Blvd. customers are denied the more choice foods.

The meats tend to be lower grade — and cheaper — and the produce limited to the more mundane varieties, said one housewife.

Others have complained that prices are occasionally higher than what is charged for the same items at A&P stores in other parts of the city.

Members of the Carver club have protested periodically that advertised bargains are not available at the store.

They seem to have great confidence that a manager who lives in the black community would be more sensitive to such complaints.

There is the added feeling that a Negro in charge of the store would be symbol of pride for the community and an inspiration to Negro youngsters.

A&P officials locally are hesitant to talk publicly about problems at the Bowen store. They do deny steadfastly that prices vary from one A&P to the next in the city. And they defend variations in the stock

A
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Analysis

from store to store as a simple case of supply adjusting to meet demand.

Ill feeling within the Carver Civic Club heightened with the transfer of Mrs. Henderson. A club spokesman explained that many were convinced that she was penalized for her membership in the club.

A&P officials have countered by maintaining that the change from cashier to produce clerk was not a demotion (there was no pay cut) and that a transfer from one store to another is within the company's prerogatives.

Mrs. Henderson lives within walking distance of the Bowen store, but not of Northside.

The issue of Mrs. Alford's injury apparently was unknown to the Carver group until the Panthers appeared on the scene. A lawsuit filed by her against A&P was dismissed in District Court June 3.

On June 4, the Carver club

met to discuss schools, but the meeting was dominated by discussion of the A&P and, specifically, Mrs. Alford.

Two days later, the pickets appeared.

In their wake emerged fundamental differences about goals and tactics between the Panthers and the civic club.

Some community spokesmen feel that residents who otherwise might be sympathetic to the boycott have avoided it out of dislike for the Panthers.

Rodney Sumler, the new president of the civic club, said yesterday that he is creating a committee to resume negotiations with the A&P. He said the basic issue at stake remains a Negro manager, but that Mrs. Henderson and Mrs. Alford are of concern to the club.

Sumler said that the Panthers will be free to have a representative on the committee, but said the approach will not be militant. "We're not

trying to run the (A&P) out of the community," he said. "It's needed, and it's convenient."

But, he added, "The club wants to meet the problems head-on now . . . we've been working behind the scenes for so long."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

87-6171

The following articles appeared in the July 4, 1970,
Issue of the "Black Panther" at San Francisco, California:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LIAISON OFFICERS -- ANOTHER SYSTEMATIC MEANS OF EXPLOITATION

Since 1965, Winston-Salem has had its Anti-Poverty programs on the scene to help keep the people of Winston-Salem pacified and confused. These different programs have maneuvered the people into believing that the government has some interest in the welfare of our Black people.

One program that has been implemented under the Anti-Poverty program of the government here in Winston-Salem is the Liaison Police Officer, Liaison meaning interrelationship, intercommunication between parts of an armed force, and contact to ensure cooperation, in other words meaning nothing but a bunch of Karangatang for the pigs.

The general description of duties of these niggers are: The lackey will assist the pigs in his public surveillance activities and also act as a liaison agent among the policemen, youth groups and vocal groups in urban areas. In the general description the racist government

made sure they said urban, because they know that Black people cover the majority of the population in the urban areas, and the White folk live in the suburbs. The specific description of duties of the bootlicking niggers also include:

1. Assisting the pigs with on-the-job clerical duties such as writing traffic tickets.
2. Assisting the pigs in the surveillance of business and industrial establishments during hours when not regularly occupied.
3. Maintains surveillance of downtown entertainment centers.
4. Answers requests for assistance in local neighborhoods to help beat Black people's heads. (This is easily done because the trailers are located in the Black community.)
5. Participates in all activities of the pigs athletic league.
6. To signify at meetings of different groups in the community, and inform the pigs, also to ask about career opportunities within the pig force.
7. Assist pigs to maintain torture and brutality against our people doing public demonstrations or marches.
8. Investigate reports of civil disobedience in urban ghetto areas and interprets the behavior of groups involved in public demonstrations to the patrol officers.

These nigger Liaisons have joined the fascist pigs to help pacify, terrify, torture and murder our people by giving the pigs information concerning Black people, that will have the pigs almost in complete control of our communities.

So we the people of Babylon are saying to you Piglet Liaison that: When it's time for the barbecue, you will roast too.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F.
Black

PIGS PLAY IN DECEIT

POLITICAL PRISONERS FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

Some time ago the Black Panther Party initiated a drive that had the interest of the masses at heart. This drive or program concerned itself with the release of political prisoners (Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale) in exchange for Prisoners of War (POW's). The Black Panther Party and all other revolutionary organizations can readily see, without hesitation, because of their political awareness that all political prisoners and prisoners of war are one in the same, and there is no difference between the two.

The Black Panther Party has always said like Bobby Seale that "To be a revolutionary is to be an enemy of the State, and to be arrested for the struggle is to be a political prisoner."

Political prisoners, people who have resisted the pig power structure and have been arrested for their activity are nothing more and nothing less than prisoners of war. We state this condition emphatically because, Black people after having suffered such a long train of abuses have had no other alternative but to strike out at and resist this dehumanizing society.

The capitalistic, exploitative system which we live under deserves nothing and can be expected to produce nothing but resistance and ultimately revolution. To engage in revolutionary activity, that is, bringing about total change and destruction of a decadent society and constructing a new and more humanistic one is the job of a revolutionary.

Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, the New Haven 9, the N.Y. Panther 21, the L.A. 16 and Chicago 16 and hundreds of other revolutionaries are in prisons all across Babylon at this time. These revolutionaries were captured and jailed because they were actively engaged in the righteous struggle of liberation for Black people within Babylon. At the same time racist mercenaries are being the aggressors on the people of Vietnam, a people that are striving for self-determination, the same as Black people in the U.S.A. These mercenaries are being ripped off and captured by the Vietnamese for intruding on the soil of the Vietnamese people and destroying human lives and heaping destruction on the land.

The Black Panther Party and the people want their freedom fighters released from jail. Therefore a drive was started to get the immediate release of the people's

servants from jails. Contacts could be made with North Vietnam to set up machinery to exchange their captured POW's for the political prisoners held in jail in Babylon. The masses of people were to send the names of relatives believed to be POW's to the Black Panther Party and the Party would in turn send these names to North Vietnam and things would be materialized from there. But due to the threat that our imprisoned brothers and sisters posed to this vulturistic system, the drive never got rolling.

Rennie Davis and Dave Dillenger were to go to North Vietnam with these names, but were refused passports to travel abroad by this racist government because it didn't want these lumpen niggers (Huey and Bobby), members of the Vanguard Party, armed with the ideology (teachings of) the Black Panther Party and able to put it into practice to bring the masses revolutionary political power, back on the streets and educating the masses to the correct strategic methods of resisting the pig power structure.

The Party, dedicated to serving

the people, started this drive, but it was stopped by the pigs. The Party knew the pigs would never let such a program go into effect but it would be an educational process for the masses.

Now, at this present time when pig Nixon is expanding his imperialistic war machine into other countries in Southeast Asia, the domestic imperialistic forces at home (National Guard) of North Carolina have started a program to fool the people and make the people think that they have the people's interest in their pig hearts. These domestic storm-troopers are circulating petitions throughout North Carolina asking for the people to "Show your concern for our Americans in POW camps in North Vietnam" and sign the petition. A lot of people fail to see the hypocrisy of this sham attempt by the pigs. People of North Carolina and other states, do not be fooled by this deceitful act of these mad pigs. Your sons and husbands will remain prisoners as long as Nixon continues his aggression in North Vietnam and occupation of the Black colony.

POLITICAL PRISONERS
FOR POW'S!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Winston-Salem, N.C.C.F

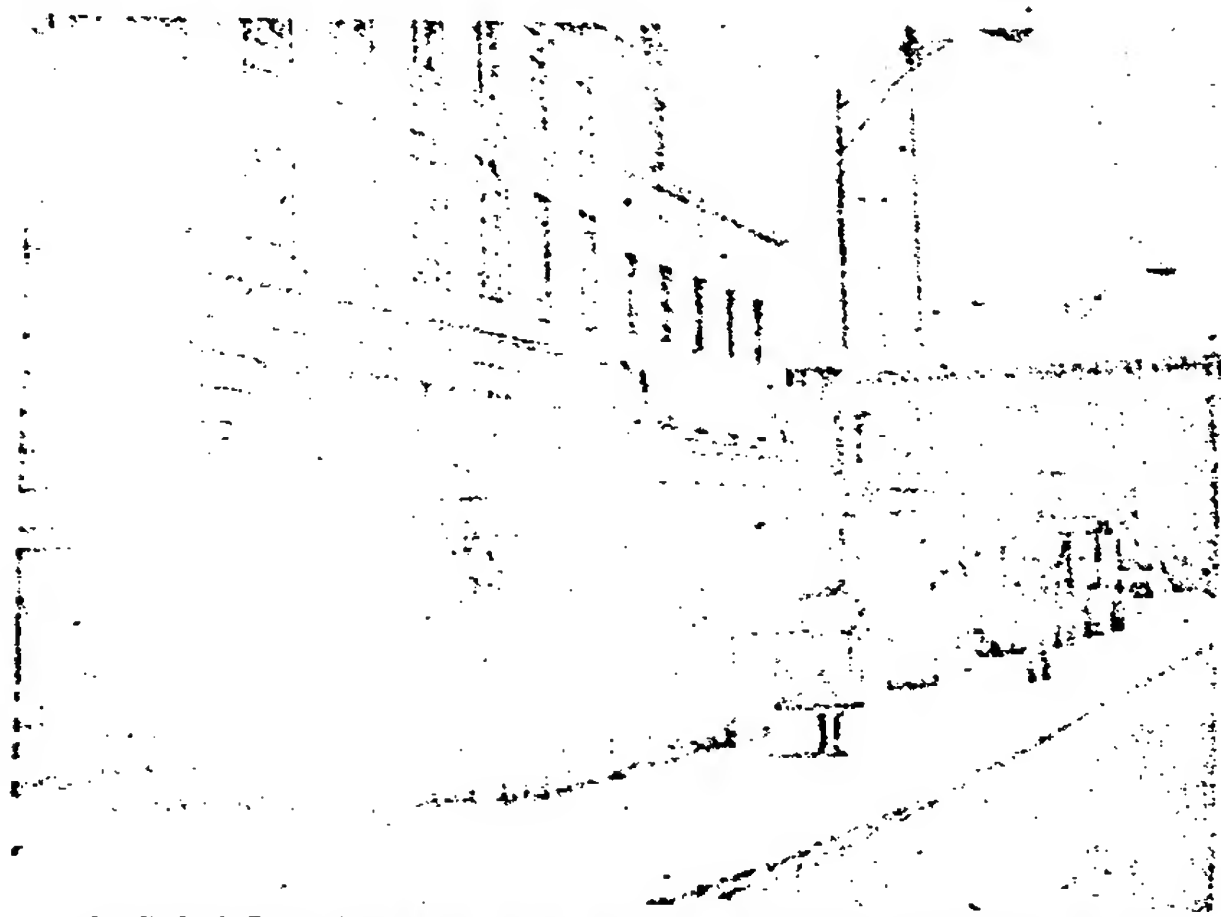
Nelson Malloy

**NATIONAL GUARD IN N. CAROLINA HAVE
STARTED A PROGRAM TO FOOL THE
PEOPLE**

CONFIDENTIAL

SAFE BUS COMPANY, A VENTURE IN BLACK CAPITALISM

Fig-hearted Nixon came forth with a jive scheme called 'Black Capitalism'. Black capitalism is supposed to enable Black people to be fully absorbed into the mainstream (decadent cesspool) of American life. Blacks who are politically uneducated cannot see this maneuver as nothing more than an exchange of White exploiter for Black exploiter. They can't see that Black capitalism will only benefit a few Black people, while the masses still sink lower and lower into the mire and rot of a corrupt, dehumanizing society that is doomed for destruction.



PEOPLE HAVE TO WAIT FOR HOURS FOR
A BUS THAT GOES INTO THEIR SECTION
OF TOWN